

Message Text

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EXDIS

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TAGS: PARM, UR, US, OEXD

SUBJECT: NUCLEAR TEST BAN TECHNICAL TALKS

1. FOLLOWING IS A MEMORANDUM OF A ROWNY/MOROKHOV CONVERSATION WHICH TOOK PLACE JUNE 20 AT THE INTOURIST HOTEL.

2. AFTER A FEW PLEASANTRIES MOROKHOV SAID HE WANTED TO BE CERTAIN ROWNY UNDERSTOOD THE RATIONALE FOR HIS POSITIONS. HE CAVEATED IT BY SAYING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY; HIS OFFICIAL POSITION BEING IN THE RECORD. ROWNY TOLD HIM HE WOULD BE GLAD TO LISTEN AND THAT ANY REACTIONS MOROKHOV MIGHT INFER WOULD ALSO BE PERSONAL.

3. MOROKHOV SAID HE HAD BEEN OPTIMISTIC UNTIL TODAY BUT NOW WONDERED IF WE WANTED AN AGREEMENT OR WANTED TO STALL BECAUSE OF ALLEGED TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES. MOROKHOV SAID IT WAS ONLY TODAY THAT HE HAD LEARNED WHAT THE US SIDE WANTED IN THE WAY OF INFORMATION. ROWNY TOLD HIM THIS WAS A TWO-WAY STREET: HE SAID HE GATHERED OUR PEOPLE HADN'T KNOWN WHAT THE SOVIETS WANTED, OR WHAT THEY WERE WILLING TO GIVE. MOROKHOV SAID THE SOVIET SIDE HAD NOT INSISTED ON INFORMATION SINCE IT WAS CONFIDENT THEY WOULD GET ALL THEY NEEDED FOR VERIFICATION. HE REPEATED THAT ONLY NOW DID HE HAVE AN IDEA OF WHAT THE US WANTED. BUT, HE SAID, PERHAPS THAT WAS THE BEST THE EXPERTS COULD HAVE DONE IN THREE WEEKS. HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT HE SAW NO

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PROBLEM IN FURNISHING THE INFORMATION, SUBJECT TO ANY MINOR

DIFFICULTIES HIS EXPERTS MAY UNCOVER. ASSUMING THAT WAS SO, HE SAID, HE WAS ANXIOUS TO PROCEED WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHEREAS THE US APPEARED NOT TO BE. ROWNY TOLD HIM "ADEQUATE VERIFICATION" WAS CENTRAL IN HIS MIND, AND IT WOULD APPEAR TO HIM, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, THAT FULL ATTENTION TO RESOLVING THIS ISSUE WAS INDICATED.

4. MOROKHOV SAID THAT "ADEQUATE VERIFICATION" WAS A VARIABLE WHICH WAS DEPENDENT NOT ONLY ON AVAILABILITY OF DATA AND WILLINGNESS TO EXCHANGE IT, BUT UPON THE MAGNITUDE OF THE BOUNDS: THAT

IS, THE LOWER AND UPPER YIELD LIMITS, AND THE ANNUAL NUMBER OF TESTS IN BETWEEN. HE SAID THE HIGHER THE UPPER LIMIT THE EASIER IT WAS TO VERIFY. AT THE SAME TIME, TOO LOW A LOWER LIMIT GREATLY COMPLICATED VERIFICATION. HE SAID HE FELT THAT WITH THE LIMITS HE HAD IN MIND WE COULD VERIFY TO WITHIN A FACTOR OF ONE-AND-A-HALF AT THE LOWER LEVEL AND MUCH BETTER THAN THAT AT THE UPPER END. HOWEVER, HE SAID HE WOULD ACCEPT THE EXPERTS JUDGEMENT OF "ABOUT A FACTOR OF TWO."

5. MOROKHOV SAID HE HAD NO IDEA WHAT THE UPPER LIMIT DESIRED BY THE US WAS, AND THEREFORE WAS AT A LOSS ON HOW TO PROCEED. SINCE, HE SAID, HE WAS UNABLE TO EXTRACT ANY INFORMATION FROM THE US SIDE, HE HAD CONSTRUCTED A PERSONAL HYPOTHESIS. HE SAID HE WOULD LIKE ROWNY TO HEAR HIM OUT, AND IN THIS WAY HE COULD FOLLOW THE RATIONALE.

6. MOROKHOV SAID HE HAD IN MIND A LOWER LIMIT OF 20 KT, WHICH COULD BE AS LOW AS 10 KT OR EVEN LOWER IF THE US SIDE DESIRED IT. HIS UPPER LIMIT WAS "SEVERAL HUNDRED" KT, WHICH WAS ALSO SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION; IN FACT, HE SAID, WHATEVER THE US SIDE WANTED. THE QUOTA COULD BE 25 OR 30 EXPLOSIONS A YEAR FOR THE FIRST YEAR, OR WHATEVER THE US NEEDED TO CARRY OUT ITS TEST PROGRAMS.

7. ROWNY ASKED MOROKHOV ABOUT PNE'S. HE SAID THIS WAS "NO PROBLEM". THEY WERE WILLING TO KEEP PNE'S WITHIN THE UPPER THRESHOLD AND COUNT THEM AGAINST THE QUOTA. ROWNY SAID HE SAW NO MENTION OF PNES IN THE SOVIET DRAFT TREATY. MOROKHOV SAID THIS WAS BECAUSE THE DRAFT WAS ORIENTED TO ARMS CONTROL AND

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PNE'S WERE NOT ARMS. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THEY COULD BE MADE THE SUBJECT OF A CONFIDENTIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. ROWNY TOLD HIM THIS WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DO SINCE THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DO SINCE THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE SUBJECT TO LEGISLATIVE DEBATE AND APPROVAL. MOROKHOV SAID HE UNDERSTOOD BUT FELT THE PROBLEM WAS NOT INSURMOUNTABLE.

8. MOROKHOV SAID THAT PUBLIC OPINION UNDERSTOOD NUMBERS OF TESTS

AND THAT THE NUMBERS ASSOCIATED WITH YIELDS WOULD BE LOST ON THEM. HOWEVER, WE COULD SHOW YEAR-BY-YEAR PROGRESS IN REDUCING THE NUMBER OF TESTS AND PERHAPS BY REDUCING THE UPPER YIELD LIMIT. HE SAID THE MILITARY COULD BE SATISFIED SINCE THEY COULD TEST UP TO THE UPPER LIMIT. AT THE SAME TIME, THE POLITICIANS WOULD BE HAPPY SINCE THE NUMBER OF TESTS COULD BE REDUCED THROUGH A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION, IN SUCCEEDING YEARS. THUS, A DEGREE OF ARMS CONTROL COULD BE EFFECTED BY REDUCING NUMBERS OF TESTS EVEN IF REDUCING THE UPPER LIMIT PROVED TO BE DIFFICULT. HE SAID THAT HE DIDN'T EXPECT ROWNY TO AGREE WITH HIS HYPOTHESIS, SINCE "OBVIOUSLY" THE US SIDE DID NOT HAVE INSTRUCTIONS FROM OUR GOVERNMENT. HE ASKED IF ROWNY HAD ANY PERSONAL VIEWS ON HOW THEY MIGHT PROCEED.

9. ROWNY WENT BACK TO HIS ORIGINAL THEME I.E. CONFIDENCE THAT "ADEQUATE VERIFICATION" WERE ACHIEVABLE WAS THE KEY TO FURTHER MOVEMENT. ROWNY SAID IF THERE WERE QUICK AGREEMENT ON OUR LIST OF DESIRED INFORMATION, PERHAPS WITH MODIFICATIONS, THAT WOULD SHOW PROGRESS. MOROKHOV SAID HE HOPED THAT COULD BE "NO PROBLEM". ROWNY SAID THE NEXT STEP MIGHT BE TO PUT ON THE TABLE CERTAIN INFORMATION. MOROKHOV SAID THAT WAS "NO PROBLEM" EITHER, SO LONG AS LOCATION OF TEST SITES AND CERTAIN GEOLOGICAL INFORMATION REMAINED IN CONFIDENTIAL CHANNELS. ROWNY ASKED HIM ABOUT INFORMATION ON PAST EXPLOSIONS SO THAT A CORRELATION BETWEEN TESTS AND SEISMOLOGY WERE AVAILABLE. THIS, MOROKHOV SAID, WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR TWO REASONS. FIRST, HE FELT WE MIGHT NOT INTERPRET THE DATA IN THE SAME WAY, AND SECOND, HIS "HIGHER-UPS" WOULD SUSPECT WE WERE ON AN INTELLIGENCE GATHERING EXPEDITION. HE ASKED WHAT WOULD BE WRONG WITH AGREEING TO EXCHANGE DATA ON ALL SHOTS FROM NOW ON. BETWEEN NOW AND 1 JANUARY 76, HE SAID, 18 MONTHS REMAINED. IN A YEARS TIME WE COULD REACH A JUDGMENT ON WHETHER VERIFICATION PROVED TO BE ADEQUATE. IF NOT, THE AGREEMENT

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WOULD NOT GO INTO EFFECT. OR, IF WE HAD RATIFIED SOME AGREEMENT IN THE MEANTIME WE WOULD EVOKE THE SUPREME INTEREST CLAUSE AND PULL OUT ON SIX-MONTHS NOTICE.

10. ROWNY REPEATED THAT AGREEMENT ON TYPES AND QUANTITY OF INFORMATION WOULD LEAD TO CONFIDENCE THAT ADEQUATE VERIFICATION WERE ACHIEVABLE AND THAT PROMISES TO DO THINGS IN THE FUTURE WOULD BE SUSPECT. MOROKHOV SAID HE COULD APPRECIATE THIS POINT OF VIEW BUT THAT CHANGING PEOPLE'S HEARTS AND MINDS TOOK TIME.

11. ROWNY ASKED MOROKHOV IF HE HAD ANY OBJECTION TO THIS INFORMATION BEING PASSED ON. HE SAID HE EXPECTED THAT WOULD HAPPEN, BUT ASKED THAT ROWNY LABEL IT AS MOROKHOV'S "WORRYING" AND "LOOKING FOR SOLUTIONS". ROWNY REMINDED HIM HE HAD FOR THE

MOST PART LISTENED AND THAT ANY INFERENCES MOROKHOV
MIGHT DRAW WOULD BE ON THE SAME BASIS.
STOESSEL

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